THE WOMAN'S
DREADNOUGHT

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THE CHOICE OF DELEGATES TO PETROGRAD

A PROTEST

As I am a member of the I.L.P. and not of the B.S.P., I shall be acquitted of all Party partiality in protesting against the decision of the Government to choose from the United Socialist Council delegation of two out of the three members—Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald and F. W. Jowett (delegates of the I.L.P.)—allowing them to proceed to Petrograd and to hold back Mr. E. C. Fairchild, delegate of the B.S.P., although the Russians have especially asked that every section of British Socialism shall be represented at the forthcoming Conferences. The excuse for keeping back Mr. Fairchild was a most transparent one. It was said that, though three passports were applied for by the United Socialist Council, and though every newspaper had advertised the names of the three delegates, only two places had been prepared on the boat! The Socialist delegates are not Eastern potentates—any one of them would gladly have occupied a shake-down, taken turn and turn about in a berth, or slept in a deck chair in order to get to Russia on this important mission. The excuse is absurd! Some hopes are being held out that Mr. Fairchild may be allowed to proceed to Russia later on. We remember what happened in connection with the Women's International Congress at The Hague: passports were promised to a number of women selected by the Government from those who desired to go; how Mr. McKenna sent for the women's officials and told them that they could not have the necessary papers made out in time to catch the boat because the clerk who could prepare them had left the office, but that they should go by a special boat. This last of a series of promises was broken on the plea that, owing to an important naval affair, of which he could give no information, but which everyone would hear later, all communication with Holland had been severed. It afterwards transpired that communications with Holland had not been cut off. It is strange that the Government should stoop to such subterfuges: the ways of politicians are indeed difficult to understand.

Why has the Government differentiated against Mr. Fairchild? What has it to fear from him more than from Messrs. MacDonald and Jowett? All three are members of the United Socialist Council, which consists of delegates from the I.L.P. and B.S.P. All three are bound by the Leeds resolutions, which declare for the policy of the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council for "a peace without annexations or indemnities based on the right of the nations to decide their own affairs.". For the Government to assume that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Jowett will adhere less decisively to the Leeds resolutions than Mr. Fairchild (who has the advantage of not being assailed by the compromising atmosphere of the House of Commons, which scarcely a man can altogether withstand) is to level an insult at Messrs. MacDonald and Jowett, and to suggest that they belong to the company of politicians whose word cannot be relied upon.

But whatever may be the motive of the Government, it is the duty of the democracy to protest against a discrimination which undoubtedly Messrs. MacDonald and Jowett must resent very greatly. Such discrimination is entirely contrary to all democratic principles, and is an attack which cannot be tolerated upon a Socialist organisation which has done much to maintain the spirit of internationalism.

E. S. P.

Of Special Interest This Week

MILITARISM

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

THE ELECTORAL REFORM BILL IN PARLIAMENT

OUR GREAT PUSH

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PEACE OR FAMINE—WHICH?

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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MILITARISM

In the South of England in the peaceful fields, so smiling now and sunlit, gay with wild flowers, joyous with songs of birds, people hear day by day the dull cruel noise of the guns on the West Front. Last Thursday morning, in the early small hours a man crept out to listen for the explosion of a volcano prepared for a year with hideous misplaced ingenuity. The volcano that burst upward to the sky on June 7th was a piece of solid mother earth, such as we know in England, but for a year men have tunnelled it in secret, charged it with more than a million pounds of explosives, and set alight to it at a pre-arranged moment. "The whole geography of the district has been churned and blown and furrowed out of recognition," says the Press Association. "Not much is left of Wytschaete Wood, once 800 yards square, now a pitiful wreckage of broken stumps and tattered tree trunks. The slopes of the ridge are all barren and tortured with shell fire," says Philip Gibbs in the "Daily Telegraph." We British people living quietly here on this little island have no realisation of such things. We are distressed by a summer heath fire, heart-sick for the old gorse, and the trees and the heather, ready to weep for the young birds and their mothers who fly shrieking from the nest only at last when the flames leap about them and the leaves and branches shrivel and snap and crackle in the fierce heat. We here in England cannot visualise the hideous devastation of land and homesteads wrought by the explosion. The deaths and the maimings of thousands of human beings we cannot realise; we who would be overcome by misery and horror if we met one unknown man dead in the neighbouring wood or in our familiar street. But the man who crept out to hear the crash on Walton Heath knew, with vivid realisation forced on him by many memories, what the crash must portend, and weighing upon his mind, unless some sort of intellectual madness has fallen upon him, was the heavy sense of responsibility for the continuance of the War.

The newspapers make light of the heavy losses amongst our British soldiers in the Messines battle, but they gloat over the many thousand deaths of German men buried under the earth, men blown into the air and rent limb from limb by British soldiers, by order of the British Government. Yet educated people still believe that we as a people are incapable of militarisation, and that our military command can never develop "Prussian" characteristics. The British Headquarters' correspondent, however, coldly puts the official view:—

"It has become a habit of thought to dwell upon the thoroughness of the German military machine, and certainly the Hun soldier is trained in the doctrine of completeness, but the battle of Messines once more emphasises the point that he has no monopoly in this respect. The triumph of a few hours was the fruition of as many months of preparatory toil."

He further explains:

"The capture of Vimy Ridge was planned with the aid of a scale model which covered a fair-sized dining table. The attack upon the Messines Ridge was rehearsed upon an open-air model covering an area equal to about four tennis courts, a perfect replica of contours and features down to such minutiæ as an isolated tree-stump. For weeks before the battle all the units engaged were practised in the particular rôle assigned to them under the most realistic conditions practicable in training."

H. Percy Robinson, in the "Daily News," says that in the Messines battle the British made use of "a new horror known in the Army as 'oil cans' or 'boiling oil' "which "throws to a considerable distance projectiles which are, in fact, containers of highly inflammable stuff," and which "burst and scatter conflagration over a wide area." In all this horror the declarations of President Wilson sound like the hollow echo of some long past thing to which the people once looked for hopefully, but now known to be merely an outworn sham. Borrowing the style, almost the very words of British Ministers, he declared that America is fighting "for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force?" Is it possible that the American can believe that when it is obvious that American business men insisted on American participation in the War for commercial reasons?

Very ominous are Wilson's references to the "selfish advantages which they" (the German ruling classes) "have gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond," and to the linking together by Germany of government after government in a net of intrigue the meshes of which must be broken and adequate measures taken to prevent their being repaired, and his statement that the *status quo ante* must not be repaired.

Every modern capitalistic Government has made such arrangements to safeguard the interests of its capitalists as that to which Wilson refers. The fact that he condemns the German arrangements is merely an indication that America has joined the Anti-German Group and is fighting for special trade interests in Europe, apart from the more obvious objects of securing that America's overseas commerce shall not be unduly interfered with and that the Powers to which American money has been lent shall secure a victory in order to be able to pay back.

Mr. Wilson's statement that America is fighting for the liberty of small nationalities and the development of peoples is like similar declarations of Messrs. Asquith, Lloyd George, and the rest, merely a respectable way of saying that America is out for annexations.

"No indemnities must be insisted upon, except those that constitute payment for manifest wrong," says Wilson. But that is only another way of saying that he rejects the Russian demand that there shall be "no indemnities." Only the workers of the world can, or will, end this War and make an abiding peace.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

DR. BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY

It is with great regret that we have to announce the resignation of our late Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, who took such a keen interest in our work among the babies and appealed so successfully for funds on their behalf during her term of office. We hope to have occasional articles in the DREADNOUGHT by Dr. Tchaykovsky, and wish her every success in her baby-saving campaign.

* * * *

Harrow, June 10th, 1917.

Dear Friends,—May I send you a few words of greeting on the resignation of my Treasurership? I am obliged to leave you, not because I am giving up the work that has occupied my every thought and spare hour, especially since War broke out, but because the general campaign of Baby Saving absorbs so much of my time and energy that I cannot give as much as I should to the post of Treasurer of the Federation. No one can retire from the fray just now—it is going to be fiercer and more binding on each one of us as the world catastrophe sucks even the life-blood of our unborn babes through their mothers. And so, I beg you to fight on—remember that the hope of the world lies with the children. As we build them today, so the future is the fairer for our building, and we build wisely, with our eyes fixed steadfastly on the Ideal, reaching out to nothing less than the best. The State of which we are a part will be the better for our being led by the children, for what is good for the child *must* be good for the State.

Edgar Lansbury succeeds me; he bears an honoured name, but you will welcome him and support him for his own sake, too. I can never forget how, after the day's work, he used to come night after night during the 1912 London Dock Strike, to help us in the work of the children's White Cross League—to collect funds to feed the starving mothers and babes of Dockland.

It seemed a mighty task then; it was but a preparation for the work that lies ahead.

Yours, BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY.

EX-INSPECTOR SYME

We offer our warmest congratulations to ex-Inspector Syme on his release from prison last Friday, after five days' hunger strike, during which time he lost two stone. We are glad to say that he is recovering. "Reynolds' Newspaper" has apologised for an erroneous statement which it published in reference to the trial, having been misinformed of the true facts of the case, and presented Mr. Syme with £10 for any charity he liked. Mrs. Syme at once said it must be given to "Sylvia's Babies." We have much pleasure in acknowledging the donation, for which we are most grateful.

"POINTS OF VIEW"

By "L.O.K."

"What we want," said the Stout Lady, emphatically, "is a Fight to a Finish."

It seemed to the Fair Girl that she had heard the phrase before, but she did not say so.

"What is that?" inquired the Fair Girl with an air of innocence and the best of intentions.

There was a slight pause and a faint shadow of a sputter. Then the Stout Lady took on a kind condescension towards her.

"I see you don't read the papers," she remarked, "or you would have a clearer idea of what our nation is fighting for."

"I do," returned the Fair One, "that is why I am so hazy: in fact, I read the "Times" as often as I can stand it."

"Really!" said the Stout Lady, looking at her as if she had just then seen her for the first time. Then she waived aside the grave responsibility of the case.

"Mr. X.," she said, turning to her neighbour, "here is a young lady who is interested in international politics and that sort of thing. Can you explain to her what the phrase 'a Fight to a Finish' means?"

Mr. X., 50, neglected the wing of his spring chicken for the fraction of a second, applying a necessary serviette.

"If it's not finished now," he said, speaking in spasmodic jerks on account of the exigencies of an attractive plate, "it will all have to be fought over again in a short period of time. Fifty years. Perhaps less," he suggested darkly and with great determination.

"Yes, but isn't a war fifty years off much better than a war at present? If I could postpone all the disagreeables of my life till fifty years or so in the future, the contemplation of them wouldn't trouble me very much."

"I would a hundred times rather that my son should do his little share in exterminating the Hun, than have this deadly menace of militarism hanging over Europe for another century, and have his son's son with the battle to fight!" cried Mr. X., coming to furious grips with his dinner.

"That's curious psychology," said the Fair Girl thoughtfully.

"Well, you see," he explained, "this is Britain."

Suddenly the Fair Girl remembered that this man had suffered the loss of his only son in the War, and she was momentarily silent, respecting his sincerity and realising that here, indeed, was a typical Briton,—brave, enduring, patriotic,—and surpassing stupid.

"But it's *not* Britain," cried out sharply the dark-eyed girl; "it is *Ireland!*"

Several diners laughed, the Indian student more heartily than all.

"Oh, well," said the Stout Lady, coming to the rescue, "he meant, don't you know, that this is England's w——, I mean ——"

"Exactly what I *always* said," cried she of the Dark Eyes in still sharper triumph, "and you contradicted me the day before yesterday, and you said it was *Ireland's* war!"

"But, look here," interposed hastily the Fair Girl, "to return to the argument; suppose a disagreeable surgeon were to inform me that my left leg would have to be amputated, and suppose it were possible to have this operation passed down to my great grand-daughter, do you think I would hesitate for a moment?"

"But how *selfish*, dear," said the Hostess, with a smile that was full of teeth.—(No more? Oh, nonsense! You're not *eating*.)—"How very *selfish!*"

"I don't see that at all," persisted the Fair Girl. "This is the way I would reason to myself. It is possible that my great-grand-daughter wouldn't have such a nasty job to go through, because by the time she appears on the arena, medical skill would be brought to such perfection that by some means or other (say, hypnotism, or Christian Science) the operation would mean little or nothing to her; or perhaps the occasion for the operation would be discovered in time, and the operation be staved off, or, again, perhaps some gentler treatment than amputation might be applied, so that she would not have to go through life legless. Oh, goodness knows what piece of good luck of medical arbitration would intervene between me and the pain of my great-grand-daughter!"

"Especially if civilisation goes on the rate it is going at present," burst forth the Dark-eyed Girl, with an air of hitting both friend and foe.

"Couldn't we trust," said the Fair One, ignoring her, "that human sanity would re-assert itself in the future, during the interregnum of peace that would follow an instant cessation of this atrocious War. In one word, why can't we have peace *NOW?*"

"If there is an inconclusive peace," came in strong tones from Mr. X., "there will not be much chance for civilisation in the future, take my word for it! Your illustration about the nasty operation may be all very well for individuals,

(Continued on page 778)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

By a majority of eight, P.R. was defeated in the House of Commons on Tuesday, 141 voting in favour of its inclusion in the Reform Bill and 149 against. Supporters of Proportional Representation will no doubt try again on the Report stage of the Bill. This defeat augurs for the opposition of the advocates of P.R. to the Franchise Bill as a whole. Will they be able to defeat it and get us an Adult Suffrage Franchise?

SINN FEIN MEETING.

A meeting of Sinn Feiners in Dublin last Sunday, to protest against Irish prisoners being sent to convict prisons, was broken up by the police. Count Plunkett and five others are said to have been arrested, and will be court-martialled. If the Convention, which is to take place shortly, is not to be a farce, the ill-feeling caused by this occurrence must be dispelled.

GREECE.

The Allies have landed in Greece. M. Jonnart, High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers of Greece has military forces placed at his disposal to maintain order in Athens if necessary. The daily press raises no protest against this violation of Greek neutrality; it is regarded as a case of military necessity. The British Government sent word to Russia that its war aims were identical, we know they are not. But this fresh proof of "sympathy" for small nationalities must make Russia doubt all the fine phrases written and spoken by France and Great Britain. As we go to press we learn that King Constantine has abdicated, and that his son Alexander, aged 24, is to reign in his stead. The "Star" hails this news with: "Tino to-day; Wilhelm to-morrow." Does the "Star" advocate deposing monarchs all round?

AMERICA.

The President of the United States has sent a message to Russia and summed up the American idea of Peace terms as follows:—

No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.

No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty.

No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done.

No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The British reply to Russia endorses all the war aims of the Russian Government. What is Russia to believe when the British Government one day declares that Alsace-Lorraine is to be restored to France, and now that it agrees to "No annexations, no indemnities"?

WAS IT A MISTAKE?

King George has conferred the Collar of the Victorian Order on King Ferdinand of Rumania, who is a Hohenzollern!

TO PETROGRAD.

The refusal to sail is a course with which we should have had much sympathy if the seamen, firemen, and shipwrights had adopted it during one of those distressing industrial disputes such as that of Dublin, when the workers were starving as surely as the people of a beleaguered city. Those who may wonder that the tactics which are employed with so much ease now were not resorted to in the workers' struggles for freedom and the means of life should understand that the Government does not discourage this particular piece of lawlessness, and that bold Captain Tupper and his mates are running no risks. Meanwhile, Mr. Tom Mann, who is a member of the Seamen's and Firemen's Executive, and supported the Leeds resolution for "no annexations: no indemnities," has been supporting the Rev. Herbert Dunnico, the Liverpool Peace candidate at Shiel Park, and the meeting has been attacked by the Tupper party. Evidently the Seamen's and Firemen's Union must be reorganised!

CAPTAIN BATHURST.

The Food Control Department has lost its chief, and now Captain Bathurst is resigning owing to "ill-health." He now acknowledges that two things must be "grappled with" without delay: distribution of sugar and profiteering in food-stuffs. Since he realises these two important matters it is a pity that he should not assist Lord Devonport's successor in "grappling with" them.

NO HALF MEASURES.

At last the Government has made up its mind to stop profiteering, at least, Mr. Lloyd George said so to the Commissioners who are going to visit the different parts of the country to inquire into industrial unrest. High prices are to receive immediate attention, and it is rumoured that food may be sold under cost price to the "poor." Nationalisation of food and fuel on a proper basis would obviate any such tinkering methods.

FOOD RATIONING.

Mrs. Pember Reeves announces that "England is too proud, independent and great to be rationed." And yet we have conscription!

THE FRANCHISE BILL

WOMEN'S CLAUSES CANNOT BE MADE A SEPARATE BILL.

When the Order for Committee on the Franchise Bill was read on June 6th, the Speaker ruled that the Bill could not be cut into two parts, each part to be treated as a separate Bill unless a clean cut were made. That is to say each part must be complete in itself; there must be no unravelling of clauses. Mr. MacCallum Scott (L.) urged that the Bill deals with two separate franchises, one for men the other for women: might not these two be taken separately. But the Speaker said "No," for the words affecting the men's and women's franchises were entangled in the same clauses. A cherished hope of the most extreme anti-suffragists was thus dashed to the ground.

REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

Sir Frederick Banbury (U.) then moved a resolution which was lost by 217 votes to 65 that the Redistribution clauses be taken as a separate Bill. He complained that there was nothing in the Bill to show how redistribution was to be done. A boundary commission had been established and was already at work on redistribution. The instructions to the Commission had been issued in the form of a white paper, but were not in the Bill. The only part of the Bill which dealt with redistribution was the schedules, but the schedules were blank and no one knew how they would be filled up. He did not think even the Government knew what these schedules would eventually contain. In the Reform Act of 1867 the principles on which redistribution was to be carried out had been put in the Bill and lists of the constituencies affected in each particular were put into the schedules. Thus the boroughs with populations under 10,000 which were to return one Member were enumerated and it was stated that Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds were each to return three Members. Mr. R. McNeill (U.) seconded the motion. He had been told that by the time the House reached the Redistribution part of the Bill the Boundary Commissioners would have elaborated a scheme which would be put into the Fourth Schedule. If when that time came any Member desired to amend the figures on which the Commissioners had been working he would be met with the argument that all over the country the Commissioners had been holding inquiries and taking evidence, and that if any changes were made all that expensive work would be thrown away. An opportunity to discuss and revise the instructions should be given before and not after the work was done. Prior to the Act of 1867, the Instructions to the Boundary Commissioners were laid before the House in the form of resolutions. Colonel Sanders (U.) protested that he had been surprised to see an announcement that his own constituency had been decapitated and that he was kindly invited to its funeral on a day a fortnight later. He urged that area as well as population should be taken into account in redistribution. He believed that John Mill, and was sure that Gladstone had also recommended that distance from the Metropolis should be taken into account.

It appears to us that to assess the representation of town and county on the same population basis will probably tend to the still further neglect of the needs of the country people, though as Colonel Weigall (U.) pointed out, the agricultural community is supposed at present to be the special favourite of the Government, and in February last the Prime Minister adopted the attitude of showman in order to inspire it with patriotic enthusiasm. Hitherto the country districts have usually returned Tory landowners to represent them, but the agricultural labourers are so fast awakening that they may shortly outdistance the town workers in securing labour representation. In America the referendum vote is very much more favourable to the democracy in the country than in the town.

Sir George Cave (L.) replied to the objectors that the House had given a general approval to the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference on which the Boundary Commissioners are now working. He admitted that no opportunity had been given for particular consideration of redistribution, and that it would be undesirable to alter the rules after the Boundary Commissioners had done their work, therefore he would put down a Motion that the instructions to Boundary Commissioners be approved. This would give Members an opportunity to move amendments: he hoped that these would be disposed of in one day. Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) declared that he never heard a proposal more contemptuous to the House than this to compress into one day the discussion of this important subject including the questions of proportional representation and the principle of redistribution by population alone or otherwise. He characterised the procedure as "Government by decree." The Bill was said to be a monument of skilful Parliamentary drafting: if its object were to prevent Parliamentary control over legislation it was skilful, but, if not, it was one of the worst drafted Bills ever presented to Parliament. Mr. Long (U.) replied that the Bill could only be passed by a certain amount of self-suppression and Lord Hugh Cecil answered that self-suppression was suited to a Trappist Monastery, but not to the House of Commons.

THE VOTING AGE.

The Speaker having left the chair, the Bill passed into Committee, where Lord Hugh Cecil had a long wrangle with the chairman as to whether he might move an amendment to extend the franchise to women on the first clause instead of as the Chairman directed on the fourth. He said he was curious to know what reason there was for providing expressly that a man might have the vote at 21 whilst a woman is to be prevented from having it till 30. The Government made no answer, but someone replied, "it is recommended by the Speaker's Conference." Lord Hugh replied that if the Speaker's Conference were infallible, and only a suitable ritual of pious acceptance were left to the House this must apply to the whole Bill.

There was a good deal of fuss as to whether it was necessary to state in the Bill that a man must be of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity, seeing that that is already common law, but finally, at Mr. Asquith's (L.) request Sir George Cave (L.) agreed to put in those words. How much time the political experts and big-wigs waste on things that do not matter!

Colonel Gretton (U.) moved to raise the voting age for men to 25. He urged that our present methods of education have produced a tendency to a slower development than was the case in times past; also that women usually attain to their full powers more rapidly than men. Sir G. Cave refused to accept the amendment on the ground that it disfranchises men already on the register. The amendment was then negatived.

Lord H. Cecil then moved an amendment to make the qualifications for the Parliamentary voting the same as those for Local Government purposes, namely, an owners' franchise and a tenants' franchise. This also was negatived.

RESIDENCE.

Colonel Sanders moved to establish an occupation franchise as well as a residence franchise for men Parliamentary voters. He said that by so doing the vote would be assured to such men as commercial travellers, who have no settled home, but have a room somewhere in which to keep their belongings. Sir George Cave said that such a room, though he might not have slept there once in six months, or the place where his wife was, would be held to be the residence of a man who had no other home. If this is so, we think it would be advisable that words to that effect should be put in the Act of Parliament, but there may be some migratory workers who cannot afford to pay for a room somewhere. No provision is made for them.

THE OWNERSHIP VOTE.

Sir Frederick Banbury then moved a resolution, which was defeated by 228 votes to 35, to establish a franchise for owners of land or premises to the value of £5 a year or upwards. Sir George Cave declined to accept the amendment, as it would upset the agreement on which the Bill had been framed; whilst Sir John Simon said that to do so would be to "destroy so much of the balance as is represented by university voting and plural voting." Mr. MacMaster quoted Sir William Anson: "It is certain that when our representative system began the right to vote was conditioned upon residence." When the property vote had been given up in the Dominions, he (Mr. MacMaster) had protested because he had voted a number of times there in respect of property without being a resident, but he recognised that the Liberals had sacrificed their best political asset in giving up the cry "one man one vote." "I can well understand how dear to them that cry must have been, yet now it has been given up. A concession has been made in that respect. It cannot be expected that the concession should be all on one side."

In those words the attitude of politicians is neatly summed up. They claim credit for giving up a political asset, forgetting that they have sacrificed the liberties of other human beings, and betrayed the interests they promised to serve.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMPROMISE?

Mr. Nield stated that the Franchise Bill is the creation of Sir John Simon and Mr. Dickinson. Lord Hugh Cecil placed the responsibility upon the Labour Party, and said: "I cheer myself by thinking that the Labour Party hardly ever knows its own interest."

We agree with Lord Hugh that the Labour Party has not served the interests of Labour in agreeing to this exceedingly poor Bill. Sir Frederick Banbury said that two pamphlets were published in 1911 and 1912, one by Mr. Schlesser, who was connected with the Fabian Society, and one by Mr. Wiehl: the proposals contained in these pamphlets were identical with those to which the Conference was thought to have agreed. He believed that the Labour and the Liberal and the Irish parties had joined together to force through these proposals. If this is so, we think that the three parties have made a very poor job of the matter.

THE SUCCESSION VOTE.

At the present time in 127 constituencies persons may move from one constituency to another within certain areas without losing their votes; the present Bill provides for the extension of this principle, but not to extend it generally. Mr. McNeill moved to abolish it altogether on the ground that where a party had a large majority in one constituency and a narrow majority in a neighbouring constituency men might move on the last day of the qualifying period from the first constituency to the second, stay there a night in order to become registered as a voter there, and return to his home in the first constituency till polling day. This, he said, might be done so extensively as seriously to affect the purity of elections. Mr. Adamson, on the other hand, moved an amendment intended to safeguard the votes of men who may be absent on holiday during the latter part of the residential qualifying period. Mr. Hayes Fisher replied to both these points. To Mr. Adamson he said that residence is a term which "has never been and cannot well be defined," and that a registration officer would consider that though a man might not actually sleep at home, the fact of his intention to return there would make him still a resident. To Mr. McNeill, instead of giving the same answer, he said: "I admit that my hon. friend has discovered what is undoubtedly a flaw," and he proceeded to promise that if Mr. McNeill would withdraw his amendment the Government would put down an amendment to provide that if a man should move into a contiguous constituency, at least 30 days of the qualifying period must be spent there, whereby a qualification of many years' standing might be lost, which in London, Liverpool, and other towns is preserved under such circumstances at the present time. Mr. M. Healy, who urged that among working people change of residence is a common thing, because they are obliged to follow their occupation, said that if during the interval between the end of the qualifying period and the preparation of the register a man had returned to the constituency whence he came, and had only spent a night in the place for which he had desired to vote, the judge should have power to put his vote back to the place to which he had returned. Mr. Goldstone, Mr. Dundas White, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Herbert Samuel and others also opposed the proposal, but the Solicitor-General and the Home Secretary ignored Mr. Maurice Healy's suggestion, and both persisted that the 30 days proviso must be put in. Mr. Muldoon asked what was to happen in the case of Irish Labourers who work six months with one farmer and six months with another. Mr. Tim Healy said that the date of making up the register would fall awkwardly in relation to the Irish quarter day, and those who move into a contiguous constituency at quarter day will lose their votes. Next day the debate was again continued, when, in response to a suggestion by Mr. Ansurin Williams, Sir George Cave modified his earlier proposal. He refused to agree that a man might vote for the constituency he had left if he had not resided 30 days in the new constituency, but modified his proposal by moving the following:—"Provided that a man, though he may have been residing in premises in the constituency on the last day of the qualifying period, shall not be entitled to be so registered if, on objection being made to his registration, it is shown that he commenced to reside in the constituency within thirty days before the end of the qualifying period and ceased to reside there within thirty days after the time when he so commenced to reside." Whilst Mr. Snowden protested that a man might be obliged to go into a constituency for less than 30 days for perfectly good reasons,

(Continued on page 779.)

POINTS OF VIEW (continued from page 776)

but it has nothing at all to do with a nation. It simply doesn't *apply*."

"But, I say," started off the Young Man with the Merry Eye, "What about Belgium, you know,—if we hadn't gone in, where would Belgium be now?"

"Didn't you mean 'gallant little Belgium,' according to formula——"

The Dark-eyed Girl (being well acquainted with the Fair Girl) received a severe pinch under the table, but without effect.

"That is why we want to dismember Germany," explained Mr. X., pushing aside his plate, and entering into argument with abandon. "Militarism is the curse of Europe! Prussian militarism must be wholly and totally destroyed! 'Might is Right' won't do for us. We must arm, we must have conscription permanently here in England,—yes, yes, here in Ireland, my dear young lady,—we must be prepared and have a large standing army, and in commercial life we must be ready to beat Germany on her own ground——"

"And kill off all, or as many as possible, of the German soldiery," added the Fair Girl, with a sweet smile.

"Quite so—quite so," said Mr. X. uneasily.

"And all the civilian population, women included."

"I beg your pardon!"

"And kill off all the civilian population, women included. Starvation is the most refined and bloodless method."

"You quite misunderstand," he said hotly. "The British treatment of women in warfare is exemplary! This War was entered to shield the women of Great Britain and Ireland from the fate of the unfortunate women who——"

"Coffee," sang out the Hostess, blushing slightly.

("Vide the Recruiting Posters, First Spasm," said the Dark-eyed Girl, but not aloud.)

"Well, if I may speak t'you," came in tentative tones from where the Indian student sat,—"as onn-lee an outsider, I should ask how eet ees that Eng-land does not con-sider the vishes of Belgium now, and say to that unhappee leetle coun-three, 'Weel we neg-otiate your cru-el enemee out of your coun-three, or drive him out at the point of the bay-on-et, because if he is dreeven out, he vill ruin and to-tally *des*-troy your coun-three on his re-tree-eet, and your industries, your ceetees and towns will be n'more."

"Yes," cried the Fair One, pleased with her new Ally, "that is what I would like Mr. X. to tell us, and also how it is that England has not taken Belgium's new plight into account!"

"What new plight?" asked the Young Man with the Merry Eye.

"I mean about the sinking of the relief ships recently, which leaves Belgium in a starving condition, and the people are dying off from sheer starvation at the rate of twenty or thirty a day!"

"I hadn't heard that," said the Hostess, involuntarily, "that is dreadful! Oh! this cruel War!"

"And why in the circumstances advantage was not taken of the peace offer before this retreat began that is turning Northern France and Belgium into a desert, and why——"

"One at a time, please, one at a time," said Mr. X. "You must know that Belgium is our Ally, and is fighting disinterestedly for the salvation of Europe, and would not be so disloyal to the Alliance as to check the march of the Allies at this critical time. The self-sacrificing spirit of Belgium is an example to us all," and he looked severely at the Dark-eyed Girl, who, feeling sore, responded quickly:

"Oh, I understand now,—you see, I thought all along that we were fighting for Belgium, not Belgium for us. I see it's my mistake. I'm sorry."

"And, incidentally, protecting the honour of women and children; don't forget *that*," said the Stout Lady, with an air reminiscent of Sunday School catechism.

"The veemen of Ser-bia," said the student gravely, "haf some of them en-leested in the Serbian Army. Vill it be said, then, that they are fighting for the pro-tection of the men of Ser-bia?"

"Oh, look here, now, you are going a little too deep for me," laughed the Young Man with the Merry Eye. "You will never get out of this Belgium-Europe-England muddle if you once get into it. You might as well begin about Home Rule! I'll have you two young ladies up under the defence of the Realm Act if you don't look out!"

"I cannot understand how it is that these disloyal sentiments have spread," said the Stout Lady, with an elaborate air of speaking in the abstract and referring to no one in the concrete. "It is astonishing: I spent last summer in the South of England,—the same thing there, especially amongst the lower classes,—the greatest disloyalty and discontent. . . . Dreadful."

She addressed her remarks to the Hostess, who sighed.

"I am loyal to my country," began She of the now blazing Eyes, in a measured tone,——

"Oh, please don't think—Oh, not *you* for a moment," said Stout Lady and Hostess in duet.

"—And I have no objection to your having a war,—it keeps the race virile, and all that; but why say it's Belgium, when you know it's Constantinople and the German colonies,——"

"You quite misunderstand the situation——"

"—And I have not the least objection to belonging to a pagan community and worshipping the God of Battles,—it's a good rousing sort of religion,—but why call it Christianity——"

"The Church is on our side and is fighting for law and order and civilisation——"

"—And I am on the side of law and order, and quite approve of shooting rebels in Ireland, but why encourage them in Greece?——"

"A false analogy," cried Mr. X. vainly trying to stem the tide with a pitch-fork.

"—And of course it's appalling of Germany to offer Poland independence when we know they are only looking for conscripts; but if Ireland were to be offered Home Rule in return for conscription, it would be called 'statesmanship' here!"

The ladies rose: but it was evident by the gleam of Mr. X.'s eye, and the short breathing of the Stout One, that it was only the first round. They adjourned to the drawing-room, the atmosphere heavy with disapproval.

"Easy on, now, old girl," said the Fair Girl, linking her companion and slipping easily into the vernacular of friendship. "Don't run up so much against people's illusions—remember they are just as strong as yours,—that is, your *opinions*, I mean. Keep the peace a bit more, couldn't you?"

"But, to think of it," retorted she of the Angry Eye, "it makes a pacifist so sick to hear such bloodthirsty ravings! And, then, that man's remarks about Ireland!" Oh!" she concluded, with a sigh, "to be a man and able to give even one shot for our independence——"

"Ha, ha! ha!" The Fair Girl rocked with merriment.

"What's the matter," queried the other in sharp aggrieved tones. "I see no laughing matter! What *IS* it?—hurry up, they are coming."

"Ha! ha! Well, I suppose you really *don't* know how funny you are, so I'll tell you in your own words. By all means let us have our shot, and many of them, for our independence,—I have not the slightest objection; but why, oh why, call it pacifism!"

"Pacifism, indeed," she added, her mirth subsiding. "Is there, after all, such a sentiment existing? Germany, — England, — Ireland, — they're all the same, they're all the same!"

A VICTIM OF THE WAR

We have to record the death on May 27 at his home in Strathnairn Street, Cardiff, of John Evans, a young clerk of 24, formerly in the employ of a well-known local firm. Evans did not belong to any political or kindred organisation, but was a member of Tredegarville Baptist Church, and was privately studying for the ministry. When War broke out he resolved to be guided, as ever, by his conception of what Christ would do in the circumstances. Evans could accept no form of military service, though he was prepared to do civil work of national importance. He received a notice to report for service with the colours at the recruiting office on June 5th, 1916. He went down to explain his position, but was detained and sent up under escort to Cathays Barracks. Here he was court-martialled on June 24th and sentenced to 112 days' hard labour. During the imprisonment—at Cardiff Gaol—he was offered, and accepted, the Home Office Scheme, yet he was compelled to serve his sentence through till September. His health first became affected by the prison diet, which he could not assimilate. But the prison doctor passed him as fit for navvying. He was hurriedly and without notice removed to Newhaven (Home Office) Camp. Road-making under the conditions prevailing up to Christmas, before the new huts were ready, and when the accommodation was limited to tents without heating apparatus, was hardly likely to suit a man already emaciated by prison life. John Evans gradually declined, but not a word of complaint reached his home, which he was still not allowed to visit. After six months at Newhaven, where the official doctor declared him free from organic disease, he was sent to Wakefield Centre, the medical officer of which certified him to be in an advanced stage of consumption. On Easter Monday of this year the mother heard indirectly, and for the first time, of his serious condition, and application to the Home Office resulted in permission being given to bring the dying lad home. Before leaving the Camp he was given an official discharge by the agent. The poor mother had vain hopes of a cure by tender care and home treatment, but the strong and sturdy son who had left home on June 5th, 1916, "never having had a day's illness," as she said, breathed his last on Whit Sunday of 1917.—L.T.

PEACE CONFERENCE

A very representative Conference of about 70 delegates from Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist, Pacifist and Suffrage organisations was held in Chandos Hall last Sunday afternoon, under the chairmanship of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst to consider the following resolution:—"That this Conference is of opinion that a Peace demonstration should be held to support the Peace Declaration of the Russian Council of Soldiers' and Workers' delegates, which is demanding peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities, and that the committee recognise and take steps to get into touch with the Leeds Committee." Councillor Ben Gardner moved the resolution, Mrs. Ewer seconded it, both being strongly of opinion that the longing for Peace was growing among the people, and that they should be given an opportunity not only of expressing that desire, but of discussing what sort of Peace we are to have as it must be a people's Peace. Mrs. Ewer thought open-air meetings and demonstrations the best possible way of organising public opinion There was an animated discussion as to whether the demonstrations should be taken in hand at once or whether we should wait for suggestions from the Leeds Conference. Most of the delegates were against delay for while we waited the War continued. Mrs. Bouvier thought it wrong to leave everything to the Russians. We should help them by working for Peace here. A delegate from S.W. Ham said that the open-air meetings, the broken-up demonstrations and processions had made the Leeds Conference possible; without them it could not have taken place. Finally it was decided that the newly-elected committee of 12 should undertake a demonstration without delay and that it should be held in Finsbury Park, processions to go there from different points.

Mr. Lane gave the financial statement for the Victoria Park Processions and Demonstration. It showed a deficit of £1 2s. 1d. on an expenditure of £31 19s. 6d. Considering the size of the Demonstration, the number of people who took part in it, and of those whose thoughts have been turned by it, it was a most satisfactory result.

SEARCH FOR ABSENTEES

On Friday evening, between 7 and 8 p.m., an officer, three N.C.O.s, a police sergeant, and a gentleman in plain clothes, apparently of military age, visited the public houses and coffee shops in Hoxton in search of absentees, but, during the time I was following them, they did not arrest anyone, though they demanded the papers of all possible men. They were followed by a large crowd, mostly composed of jaded looking factory girls and women coming home from work. One heard such remarks about the military as: "What a shame!" and "They ought to have something better to do," on all sides. One young girl who said: "They're out for deserters. Good luck to them!" received the angry looks of those around her, and an older woman replied: "She wouldn't talk like that if she had anyone out there. They've took my boy. It's a shocking War!" It was very encouraging to see so much anti-War feeling and to realise that, at any rate, Prussianism is not popular in Hoxton.—A.O.B.

ROBBING THE SOLDIERS

Complaints reach us from France that soldiers are charged exorbitant prices for everything. A tin of salmon which used to cost 9d. costs them 2s. 6d. Tobacco is the only commodity not overcharged. We understand that the men have asked the Government to establish canteens in every company.

SWEATED RATES

By a decision of the Launderers' Association, laundry workers in London have secured a minimum scale of wages. The scale for weekly workers on the basis of a 54-hour week is as follows:—

Under 15 years of age, 9s.
Under 16, 11s. 3d.
Under 17, 13s. 6d.
Under 18, 15s. 9d.
18 and over, 18s.

Daily hands are to receive not less than 3s. 6d. a day. Learners are to receive 2s. a week less than the scale during a probationary period of six months, but in no case will the starting wage be less than 9s. a week. We understand that these rates mean a big increase; but a living wage is wanted and we hope the laundry workers will fight for it.

A FUND FOR ENGINEERS

When the eight engineers were arrested in connection with the recent strike troubles, a few people in London determined that they should have, as far as possible, a fair trial and be legally represented. To that end they engaged solicitors and briefed counsel. Considerable financial obligations were incurred, and, in addition, the men concerned were put to a great deal of personal expense. It is proposed to raise a fund to meet these liabilities, and Mr. George Lansbury has agreed to become treasurer of the fund. If the money is to be raised, it will largely be by means of collections in the workshops. This might be taken in hand by a responsible committee, and probably the shop stewards would be willing to act. All monies should be sent to Mr. George Lansbury, "The Herald" Office, 31 Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

June 5th.—The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps is being recruited on a military basis, Mr. Macpherson stated, in reply to Mr. Anderson (Lab.). The substitution of women for soldiers is rapidly growing. Women thus recruited, if found guilty of an offence under the Army Act, will not be court-martialled; but obliged to appear before a court of summary jurisdiction. It would seem that to kill the military system in one country, we must saturate our own in every form of militarism. Is it necessary?

IRISH ALIENS.

Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein) drew attention to the insufficiency and irregularity of the payment of maintenance to Irish deportees and their relatives. In reply, Mr. Duke stated that at first £1 to £1 5s. per week was the rate allowed for deportees, but these sums had been exceeded where necessary. The rate of maintenance for wives is 10s. a week, with 3s. for each child, "the same as is paid to dependants of interned aliens." Apart from treating Irish people as aliens and at the same time demanding the allegiance required of subjects of the Crown, where does the logic come in of assuming that the man requires 25s. a week, whilst 10s. is enough for the woman?

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Sir John Bethell (L.) pointed out that girl probationers employed on Sundays in the Central Telegraph Office are paid 3d. or 4d. per hour for about a five-hour day. This sum does not defray the cost of a meal and fares. Mr. Illingworth promised to try to increase the rate of pay; but could not stop the Sunday work. Girls had to be employed owing to the scarcity of boys. Were boys paid these starvation wages?

THE HUMAN DEMAND.

In the interesting debate on the Post Office, Mr. Illingworth stated that the permanent Post Office staff receiving wages not exceeding 30s. per week get a bonus of 9s. for men and 6s. for women; those paid between 30s. and 40s. get a bonus of 8s. for men and 5s. for women, and relatively less the higher the wage. This bonus is to meet the increased cost of living. When will the Government realise that both men and women must meet this increase, and that a bonus granted on that basis should be the same for all. Mr. Rowntree (L.), in remarking on the wages, said that at the present time at least 40s. is required to keep a family of five in a state of physical efficiency! He went on to plead that the present demand of Labour is not economic, but human, and that the Government should show the example of how it works when the employee co-operates in the management of industry. Lord Cavendish-Bentinck (U.) supported Mr. Rowntree in this, and urged that better feeling would result from recognising the humanity of the worker. Mr. Duncan (Lab.) pointed out that the time has gone by for assuming that all the brains in the world are on the staff, and no brains at all among the employees. This important suggestion should receive the consideration which it deserves, and the Government should lose no time in giving a lead to other employers.

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June 6th.—Sir George Cave stated that the War Bonus of all ranks of the Metropolitan Police up to superintendent has been raised to 8s. a week.

RUSSIA.

June 7th.—Mr. Outhwaite (L.) raised the question of the free criticism of the Provisional Government of Russia. Lord Robert Cecil could not see that the policy of the Government had changed in this respect. Mr. Trevelyan (L.) pointed out that M. Ribot has promised to make public the Treaties and Agreements and all the secret documents exchanged between France and Russia. Lord R. Cecil said that a similar course of action would not be necessary for the British Government. Of course not!

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The trick of inducing Irishmen to take employment in Great Britain and forcing them to enlist was exposed by Mr. Byrne (I.N.). Mr. Macpherson, as usual, knew nothing of such matters.

RECRUITING THE UNFIT.

Cases of men who have been rejected more than once and now classed for Class A were cited by Mr. Montague Barlow (U.). Sir William Byles (L.) told of a man with a fractured leg who was passed as B1. Mr. Jacobsen stated that a man with no arm was examined, though it was quite apparent that the arm was missing. And Sir Harold Elverston (L.) said that a man was passed recently for general service who is dumb and has to wear a straight jacket. Yet one is told that only the Germans recruit cripples! Mr. Macpherson had no defence to make.

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Cheese is to be made available to the public at 1s. 4d. per lb.

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Sir G. Cave still adheres to the policy of his predecessors in reference to the Police Union. Yet we are said to be fighting for liberty!

EAST END EXPLOSION.

Of the 11,000 claims lodged for damages as a result of the East London explosion, Mr. Kellaway stated that 5,586 have been paid. Is this an example of the rapidity with which adequate compensation was promised?

ALSACE-LORRAINE!

It now seems that bloodshed is to continue until Alsace-Lorraine is restored to the French. Sir G. Cave resented Mr. Snowden's (Lab.) surprised query. If anything more impossible can be found perhaps the Allies will aim for that. Anything rather than end the War which multiplies the millionaires whilst decimating the workers.

IRISH CONVENTION.

In advocating the election of the Irish Convention on an Adult Suffrage basis, Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein) stated if that procedure were adopted that four-fifths would be Sinn Feiners, in favour of sovereign independence. Mr. Ginnell should know by now that the British Government fears Adult Suffrage in all parts of the Empire, not only in Ireland!

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Mr. Duncan (Lab.) stated that adult men employed at the Aldershot Field Stores only get 26s. a week, and women only 17s. He asked for women's wages to be raised to the Ministry of Munitions minimum of 24s. We demand equal pay for men and women!

INJUSTICE TO SAILORS.

Mr. W. Thorne (Lab.) pointed out that sailors on merchant ships, when the ships are torpedoed, are deprived of further wages. Mr. Roberts said the question of making different arrangements was under consideration. What can the sailors have been doing to allow this injustice to continue in War-time? Are they only thinking of reparation by Germany after the War?

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In reply to Mr. Chancellor (L.) Mr. Macpherson said that the War Office does not enlist men for any form of service for which they are medically unfit. Does the War Office think that the public is stupid enough to believe these statements?

COMPULSORY VACCINATION.

Women who pass the medical test for service in France are being compelled to be vaccinated and inoculated!

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June 8th.—Lord R. Cecil announced that negotiations are proceeding with Russia as to the mutual conscription of citizens of military age.

ILL-TREATING IRISH PRISONERS.

Grave allegations were made by Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein) and Mr. Byrne (I.N.) about the bad treatment of Irish prisoners in Lewes. Sir G. Cave could not admit that they had been ill-treated.

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Mr. Byrne (I.N.) demanded that equal pay for equal work should be granted in Great Britain and Ireland. He stated that the Government has big contracts with chemists in Ireland who work their assistants sixteen hours a day and pay 25s. a week!

CONSCRIPTION OF ALIENS.

The Military Service (Convention) Bill was read a second time. Mr. Glyn-Jones (L.) supported the Bill on the ground that "we are at war"!

Mr. Trevelyan (L.), in a long speech, condemned the Bill on the ground that it is the worst type of the bad sort of legislation we have been having during the War. It is legislating in the dark. If the House passes this Bill, he said, it would be signing away the rights, privileges, lives, and fortunes not only of foreigners, but of our own subjects. No one knew how many soldiers would be forthcoming under this Bill. Many Russians in this country wished to return to Russia, but there was no facility for doing so. Mr. King (L.) supported Mr. Trevelyan in opposing the Bill, also Mr. Molteno (L.), who pointed out that this Bill did not offer foreigners the same rights as British subjects, because there was no provision for tribunals. Mr. Snowden (Lab.) repudiated the idea that the Committee stage was only to occupy an hour or two; several days would be necessary, he hoped, before a Bill of this far-reaching nature became law.

GREECE.

June 11th.—Questions put by Mr. Ronald McNeill (U.) and Mr. Hugh Law (I.N.) elicited the statement from Lord R. Cecil that steps are being taken to secure control of the Thessalian harvest. This action is meant to strengthen the blockade of Greece, a small nationality, for whose rights, we are told, this War is being waged. When will all this humbug cease?

ALBANIA.

Mr. Lees Smith (L.) pointed out that Albania is inhabited by a people with Hellenistic sympathies who do not wish for the Italian Protectorate which has been proclaimed. Lord R. Cecil explained that Albania was being made an independent State "under the protection of Italy." Does not Lord Cecil know that Italy has been working to get possession of Albania since the Balkan War, and that Italy's "protection" is equivalent to annexation?

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Mr. Byrne (I.N.) drew attention to the low wages paid by the Irish Department of Agriculture to labourers, namely, 16s a week. Mr. Duke urged that the Department of Agriculture is "one of the best, most generous, and most popular employers in Ireland." What sweaters the others must be!

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In reply to Mr. Byrne (I.N.) and Mr. Ginnell (Sinn Fein), Sir G. Cave explained that the Irish prisoners at Lewes were given privileges on condition of good conduct. They had refused to obey orders unless treated as prisoners of war, and were therefore being sent to convict prisons in handcuffs. A nice preparation for the success of the coming Convention.

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Mr. Snowden (Lab.) advocated the appointment of representatives of discharged soldiers and sailors to all committees under the Naval and Military War Pensions Act. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, in reply, said that the Minister of Pensions intended to issue a circular suggesting their appointment to the Disablement Sub-committees. A step in the right direction, but not enough.

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Mr. Bonar Law stated that the average daily expenditure now is £7,884,000. The result of "business Government" methods.

THE "IRISH" CONVENTION.

The Prime Minister announced the decision as to the composition of the coming Irish Convention. It is to consist of 101 members. Each county council and each county borough is to send its chairman; four representatives from among the Roman Catholic Bishops, together with the Primate, Dr. Crozier, and Dr. Bernard, Archbishop of Dublin, as representing the Protestant Church, and Dr. John Irwin, the Moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Assembly; five representatives of Labour—this makes one wonder whether Ireland is composed only of people of property—five Nationalists, five Unionists, two O'Brienites, five Unionists of Southern Ireland, five Sinn Feiners (if they will agree to come); the Government will nominate fifteen members when it has seen the other nomination. The chairman is still undecided. Now if the Irish are not satisfied with this "representative" Convention it will not be the fault of the British Government. But, one must ask, would English people regard the chairmen of their county councils as representative or their members of Parliament? Of course, no provision has been made for women—the Sinn Feiners may elect one, but it is only a poor chance.

Mr. Lloyd George expressed his sorrow at the death of Major Redmond, and told of his great admiration for him—he can erect a monument to his memory in liberating Ireland now.

PETROGRAD PASSPORTS.

Mr. G. Terrell (U.) moved the adjournment of the House to question the action of the Government in granting passports to Russia to Mr Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Jowett. He cited all the anti-war speeches they ever made and tried to paint them as arch-traitors to their country, and most dangerous individuals to send to Russia. Mr. R. McNeill, who seconded the motion, thought it not fair to the Russian people to subject them to the "misguidance" which might result from the visit of those two gentlemen. Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) felt sure that they would do good to the cause of peace and to the Allies' cause. Mr. Bonar Law explained that Mr. Henderson, who is now in Russia and the British Ambassador in Petrograd wired that permission be given to the representatives of the Socialist minority to go to Russia. Evidently Mr. Henderson has a difficult task in dealing with the Russians and trying to justify the British Government, and wants the help of men who are known as anti-war. Nothing was said of the action to be taken in regard to the Seamen's Union refusing to allow them to leave the country. Will their act improve the opinion the Russians have of Great Britain?

FRANCHISE BILL (continued from page 777).

Mr. McNeill, of course, charged Sir George Cave with breach of faith. He declared that because of the Government undertaking a number of those interested in his amendment had stayed away, relying on the Government's undertaking, and therefore if he pressed it to a division it would have no chance, and he must allow it to be negatived. Sir George Cave said that as it was not pleasant to him to have it suggested that he was breaking an undertaking, he would not move his own amendment that day, but would leave the matter open till the Report stage. But shortly afterwards Sir George Cave re-introduced his amendment (perhaps some of those who would have opposed it had gone home), and it was speedily agreed to. In the meantime the stiff fight to win privileges for property and to make it as difficult as possible for plain men and women to gain the vote which is being put up on this "agreed measure" was continued on every line of the Bill. Major Newman wanted to know whether men living in tents might have the vote. Sir George Cave replied that if a man is wandering about a constituency, he is not living in it. Lord H. Cecil said that legislation ought not to be conducted by leaving everything to the Law Courts. Mr. Tim Healy jeered: "What is a woman?" Sir F. Banbury pointed out that two classes of voters were being established, one of which could move and preserve their votes, whilst the other could move and lose their vote. Mr. Dennis urged that the transferable qualification should be established for the entire country. Mr. Whyte said this is done in France, where an elector receives from the local Government authorities an elector's certificate, which he presents to the local authorities where his new residence is. A continuous register is kept. But such sensible suggestions were disregarded. When Lord Hugh Cecil sneered at the provision which decides that a man must lose his vote if he goes from Yorkshire to London, but not if he goes from Middlesex to Hertford, Sir John Simon flippantly replied that the noble Lord's arguments had brought conviction to his mind, and that he stood in a white sheet. But he said: "Though the Bill is not a very logical proposition, it has the merit of being a half-way house between two conclusions." How typical that is of Sir John Simon and his clique. Typical, too, was the protest of Mr. Wardle, leader of the Labour Party. He protested that he refused to stand in a white sheet: he declared that the half-way house was agreed to "because it was a matter of practical politics, because it was found to be very difficult indeed to devise, without great expense, some scheme by which voters moving to constituencies which were not contiguous could be taken from one constituency to another." (Oh! Mr. Wardle, what a fib! Why try to pretend that this was not a mere sordid question of Party barterings when Sir John has admitted, and all the evidence so clearly proves, that it is!) Mr. Maurice Healy urged that the limitations both of space and time should be abolished, that everyone should be registered on a certain day, and that the qualification should be transferable to any part of the country, but Sir John Simon would have nothing to do with such a proposal. The rights of the conscribed people count for nothing at all where political bargains are concerned. When will the people shake themselves free of the politicians who habitually trick and betray them?

THE MANUFACTURE OF BUSINESS VOTES.

Mr. Dickinson, who is one of the principal authors of the Bill, innocently admitted that "duplicate voting will be very largely increased in London . . . and in other big cities like Liverpool and Manchester." Yet we are told to believe that this is the greatest reform Bill that ever was!

Mr. G. Terrell moved an amendment to enable boards of directors to appoint two of their members to vote for them. He withdrew the amendment in the hope that the Government would consider it. Mr. Muldoon tried to limit the number of joint occupiers who may exercise the business vote for any premises to five persons. He said: "A man might have premises of the value of £200 and say, 'I have premises that will create 20 votes,' and immediately make a partnership with 20 men and get 20 votes." He explained that in Ireland registration agents had gone round the constituencies with partnerships to be signed by proposed partners. It is clear that that sort of thing will be done, but Sir George Cave refused to agree to the amendment, and it was negatived. Sir Frederick Banbury pointed out that whilst there is no limit to the number of partners who can vote for a business in a Parliamentary borough provided the rent is high enough, only two partners can vote for a business in a Parliamentary county. The reason is that when the county regulations were made in 1867, the evil of the procedure adopted for the boroughs in 1832 was seen. Sir Frederick Banbury, however, moved to revert to the bad old borough practice in the counties also, and used the refusal to accept Mr. Muldoon's amendment as an argument in favour of his proposal. Mr. Hayes Fisher said he would bring the matter before his colleagues with a view to making the change on Report. But protests were made. Sir George Cave began to hedge, and Mr. Dundas White indicated that if the Government should propose to apply the 1832 method to counties as well as to boroughs, he would move to apply the 1867 method both to boroughs as well as to counties. Sir Frederick Banbury decided that he would do well to get the matter disposed of then and there: his amendment was defeated by 152 votes to 20.

From time to time Lord Hugh Cecil demanded an answer as to who would be prevented from voting under the Bill, and whether "felons," "miscreants," "vagabonds," "wastrels," and "utterly worthless persons on the verge of the criminal class," would be disfranchised. "What a Government!" "What a Bill!" he cried. At last Sir G. Cave replied that prisoners would be disfranchised. Clause 1. was then carried by 184 votes to 14.

UNIVERSITY FRANCHISE.

It was then agreed to add: "to preserve as University voters persons not possessing a degree for a particular university, but holding a principal or professor's chair, also to Lord Rectors and Chancellors. Sir H. Craik pointed out that Mr. Asquith, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Winston Churchill were his constituents, and would lose their votes if this provision were not made. The proposal was agreed to with general satisfaction, and the House adjourned at 11 p.m.

BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS.

In the discussion of boundaries and boroughs for the purposes of the Representation of the People Bill, Colonel Sanders (U.) proposed an amendment advocating that area as well as population should be taken into consideration. Mr. G. Lambert (L.) urged that if only population were relied on that the representatives of agriculture would be greatly reduced in the House at a time when the farmers are being asked to increase tillage. Proportional representation which was not expected to be discussed at this sitting received a large amount of attention. Major Newman (U.) advocating it warmly and urging that if it were rejected great opposition might be shown to the Bill. The debate was inconclusive owing to the adjournment being moved.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... ... 1d.
Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month

I wish to become a Member of the W.S.F. and enclose.....subscription and entrance fee for.....months.

Name.....

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WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JUNE 15th.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mr. W. Holmes.
Highbury Corner, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JUNE 16th.
Gernon Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Lesbia Road, Hackney, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, JUNE 17th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Stratford, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Boyce and others.
Hyde Park, 6 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
TUESDAY, JUNE 19th.
Armagh Road, Bow, 2.30 p.m., Miss Price.
Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20th.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
THURSDAY, JUNE 21st.
Sutton Street, Commercial Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
FRIDAY, JUNE 22nd.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Hoxton Street, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SATURDAY, JUNE 23rd.
Well Street and Morning Lane, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Gernon Road, Bow, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.

INDOOR

MINERVA CAFE, 144 HIGH HOLBORN.—WEST CENTRAL BRANCH MEETING, Friday, June 15th, 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier: "Impressions of the Leeds Conference."

EMERSON CLUB, 19 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—Last "At Home" of the season, June 16th, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Ganley, "Children's Care"; Mrs. Walker, "The Present Outlook."

BOW WOMEN'S HALL.—Monday, June 18th, 8 p.m., General members' meeting, London Section. Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Singing Class.

49 CREDITON ROAD, TIDAL BASIN.—Wednesday next, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 Hoxton Street (a few minutes' walk from Shoreditch Church or from Old Street Station).—Thursday, June 21st, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, "The Situation in Russia."

THE "MOTHERS' ARMS," 438 Old Ford Road, E.—Saturday, June 16th, 6 to 10 p.m., musical "At Home," in aid of the nursery. Music—instrumental and vocal. Games, etc., refreshments. Tickets, 1s., including tea.

POPLAR WOMEN'S HALL, 20 Railway Street.—Wednesday next, 8.15 p.m. Debate: "Socialism versus Single Tax"; Mr. Lindsay, Mrs. Boyce, and others.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—Monday next, 2 p.m., Miss Price.

"WONDERLAND," WHITECHAPEL ROAD.—Grand Concert in aid of the East End Workers' Choir by the Russian Folk-song Choir, under the direction of Madame Maria Levinskaya, on Sunday, July 1st, 7.30 p.m. Tickets (2s. 8d., 1s. 2d., and 7d.) can be obtained on sale or return from Ticket Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. Apply now. Full details later.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL.—Sunday next, 8.15 p.m. Speaker, Doris Lester. Discussion, 9.30 p.m.

WALTHAMSTOW, WILLIAM MORRIS HALL, Somers Road.—Tuesday, 2.30 p.m. League of Rights Meeting.

SWANSEA.—Judge Neil will speak on "Mothers' Pensions" to-morrow (Sunday), 7 p.m., in the Elysium, High Street. Chair to be taken by Mr. W. H. Clement, president of the Swansea Labour Association. Admission by silver collection.

SUFFRAGETTES OF THE W.S.P.U.—Public Meeting, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Saturday, June 16th, 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. J. W. Williams, "The Temptations of our Troops and Proof of the Necessity for Sex Education"; Miss Norah March, B.Sc., "Ways and Means of Sex Education." Chair, Miss Lambie. Doors open at 7 p.m. Admission free. Collection to defray expenses.

REFERENDUM IN BOW

The preliminary canvass for the straw ballot on Adult Suffrage for women, Adult Suffrage for men, Proportional Representation, and the Referendum, which is to be taken in the four northern Wards in Bow, is going steadily forward. More canvassers are needed. All who are willing to help should apply at 400 Old Ford Road for further particulars.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Anon, £50; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly £1), £2; Miss H. E. Raisin (5s. monthly), 10s.; Miss Stephen, 6s. 3d.; Ronald B. Armstrong, Esq., L.L.B., 5s.; Mrs. Pointer, 5s.; Mrs. Brimley, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Merthyr Tydfil I.L.P., per Mr. David Morris, £2; Mrs. Boyce, 15s. 8d.; Mrs. Walker (two), 15s. 6d.; Chandos Hall, 6s. 1½d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Miss M. Balchin, 3s. 9d.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Martin, 1s.; Mrs. M. A. Barker (monthly), 1s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—"Reynolds'" Newspaper, per ex-Inspector Syme, £10; Mrs. Singer (6s. weekly), £5 8s.; collected, £2 6s. 8d.; Savings, &c., 19s.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), £2 10s.; Miss M. C. Grieve, £2 2s.; Assur Michaelson (6d. weekly), in memory of Elsie Grant Michaelson, £1 6s.; Misses Mann (monthly), £1; Mrs. Asher, £1; Mrs. Empson (5s. monthly), 15s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; Mr. Whitehouse, 10s.; Wm. Stuart Low, Esq., F.R.C.S., 10s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Nash, 5s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Unthank, 5s.; Mary Lady Tollemache, 5s.; Mrs. Waring Smyth, 5s.; Miss Crabb (monthly), 3s. 6d.; Miss Watts, 3s.; "Anon," per Miss Matters, 2s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Flint, 2s. 6d.; Miss Green, 2s.; Mrs. M. E. Monkhouse, 2s.; Miss V. Gray (Montessori), 1s.; Miss R. A. James (Montessori), 1s.; Mr. Stiebel (weekly), 1s. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 8s. 7½d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, Barker and Bertram, Green's Yard, and Cubitt Town, 13s. 3½d.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Lancaster, "Anon," Mrs. Minturn Scott (pram).

VALENTINE'S MEAT JUICE.—Messrs. Francis Newberry and Son.

FLOWERS.—Miss Sinclair, Hendon Co-op. Society.

MOTHERS AND BABIES

The Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Day nursery from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Mondays, 2.30 p.m. Mothers and babies can consult Nurse at any time.

Health Talks for Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

WANTED.—A cupboard for the Nursery.

20 Railway Street, Poplar.
(opposite South Bromley Station).

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Thursdays, 2.30 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Fridays, 10.30 a.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

Cost Price Restaurants at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

IN MEMORY

We are very sorry to announce the death of an old member, Mrs. Muskley, of 87 Armagh Road, on Friday, June 8th, after a very long illness. She was one of those who joined during the stormy days of militancy and always regretted that she could do so little in the quieter days which followed. We are sure all members will extend their sympathy to her family and friends.

FOREIGN NEWS

REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA IN BERLIN.

Strong measures have been taken in Berlin against the distribution of revolutionary pamphlets and leaflets issued by the Socialist Minority.

STOCKHOLM.

Anselme, the Socialist Deputy of Gand (Belgium) is expected in Stockholm.

The Dutch-Scandinavian Commission had a conference with Socialist representatives of Austria, Galicia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In a long exposé, where Russian revolutionists could find an answer to their queries, the Austrian Socialists have stated the principal points as follows: (1) Peace without annexation; (2) no investigation for those responsible for the War; (3) Belgium and Serbia freed; (4) autonomy of Russian Poland, Austrian and Prussian Poland separated; (5) South Slav nationalities remain with the Austrian Monarchy; (6) autonomy of the Ruthenians.

The organ of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, "Soviet," publishes an article as an answer to English papers, in which it is said that there is no divergence between Russia and the Allies with regard to the formula, "No annexation and no indemnities." The paper says:—"The Russian Revolution will not sacrifice a single man to help you to repair the historic injustice committed at your expense. What about the historic injustice committed by yourself with regard to Ireland, Egypt, India, etc. If you are so eager to have justice, start it in your own country. Russian democracy will not be led by your phrases. Be at least frank, as the Japanese are, who do not admit the formula 'without annexation,' for the extreme Orient. Russian democracy and the Provisional Government will remain faithful to their adopted principles. The Allied Governments will have to pronounce themselves for or against; they will have to take responsibility for all consequences, and will have only themselves to blame. The declarations of the French and English Governments cannot satisfy revolutionary Russia. Our Ministers will have to see that this serious question of peace is decided. Annexation means usurpation of territory which was in others hands the day the War was declared. The formula, 'without annexations,' means that the people will not shed a drop of blood for such an usurpation."

The "Russkaya Volia" proposes income tax from 12 to 30 per cent. and compulsory subscription to the War Loan in proportion to income. Banks and limited societies should be compelled to subscribe in proportion to their profits.

The Commission formed to assist the Provisional Government in preparation for the Constituent Assembly consists of forty members. The members represent social organisations, co-operatives, non-political organisations, peasants' representatives, Socialists and other political organisations. The Political Council of Nationalities is composed of one delegate from each of the following:—Jews, Poles, Ukralnians, Lithuanians, Lettes, Esthonians, Georgians, Armenians, and Mussulmen. Three members represent Asiatic Russia. Ten members are appointed by the Government.

Kerensky has introduced the eight hour working day in all military establishments.

Bread is being distributed in Switzerland at reduced prices to families with small incomes. Ten per cent. of the Swiss population has benefited by this measure. The Federative Council, however, has decided to raise the income limit, so that one-fourth of the population will get milk and bread at reduced prices.

Some German papers are organising a plébiscite amongst their readers, who are asked to vote for or against Scheidemann's peace conditions.

The Democratic Party in Buda Pest has organised a great demonstration in favour of peace and universal suffrage. Fifty thousand workers have passed a resolution demanding universal suffrage and freedom of the Press.

According to the "Basler Nachrichten," the Hungarian Socialist delegation has approved in Stockholm of the same peace programme as the Austrian Socialists.

Great revolts are reported from Finland. In some districts all commerce is stopped, banks and shops are closed. All public buildings are in the hands of Socialists; only Socialist papers are published. Soldiers have joined the movement. All Government action has been stopped.

CHAMBER MUSIC CONCERT

Imagine a "Salon" which could but appeal to an "exquisite," its windows wide open to the sunshine, and there, music, sympathising in its beauty with the summer day! So perfect was the harmony that even the blackbird in the garden could not but help joining in the symphony. Such was the fitting *milieu* for the delightful Chamber Music Concert given at the residence of Madame Maria Levinskaya in aid of the "Mothers' Arms" and East End Babies' Milk Fund, on Saturday, June 9th. The orchestral part of the Concert wandered from Chausson's highly modern and intensive "Quartett," through the more sentimental work, "Soir," by Geo. Darème, to the delicate, old-world chamber music, "Trio," by Mendelssohn. These works were rendered in the most effective and sympathetic style, which was only to be expected from the artists, Madame Maria Levinskaya (piano), Mlle. Lena Kontorovitch (violin), Mlle. Anita Ricardo-Ricamore (viola), and Mlle. Effie Creamer ('cello). As a charming interlude Mr. Austin Carnegie gave us two songs, "Life and Death" and "Love's Philosophy," which, both in choice and performance, were part of the perfect whole.

The attendance was more than satisfactory, making the charitable undertaking as great a success as the Concert itself. After the Concert the audience was invited to tea on the terrace, which was thoroughly enjoyed and gave an opportunity for all to discuss with appreciation the most pleasurable afternoon. I might here whisper "en secret" a few words mentioned by the charming hostess, Madame Maria Levinskaya, to the audience, announcing a series of educational Chamber Music Concerts at a very moderate price, which she intends to hold in the near future. If given in the same artistic style and *milieu*, they cannot fail to be highly enjoyable as well as instructive.—E. GULL.

HOXTON SOCIAL.

A very successful social was held at St. Stephen's Shop on June 7th. A number of new members joined. The entertainment was much enjoyed by all. It comprised Lily Ainsworth's graceful dancing and songs by Misses F. Smith, M. Perry, M. Carr, and Mr. H. Martin, Miss Pankhurst gave a short speech which was received enthusiastically. Our best thanks to all who helped, especially to Miss O'Brien for taking charge of the refreshments, to Miss W. Perry and Miss Bailey for playing the dance music and to Mr. Brown for kindly lending us the piano from Hoxton Academy, and also Mr. Martin for tuning it. We may here mention our hearty thanks to Mr. Clare for fixing Zeppelin blinds in our hall. Proceeds of social will be announced later.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

WANTED, outdoor work, collecting, canvassing, etc., by young reliable woman. Good references.—Apply K.J., this office.

FREE WORLD: Law, Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self! Recitals by Alexander Hunter.

WANTED, for East London Toy Factory, TRAVELLERS in London and provincial towns; 10 per cent. commission.—Apply 45 Norman Road, E.3.

WANTED.—We urgently need a PIANO in our hall. A member has very kindly offered to put one in order for us if quite out of repair. Have any friends an old and useless piano they can present us with?—St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

LONDON AND DISTRICT SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

Second Annual Garden Party

will be held at the ASSEMBLY HALL, Cottage Grove, Mile End Rd., (opposite Mile End Station District Railway) on SATURDAY, JUNE 23rd, 1917. In aid of the Socialist Sunday School Union Funds.

TICKETS 6d. - - Music - - Dancing 5 to 10

TICKETS FROM BRANCH SECRETARIES.

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